1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AW50 Badaga AW50

142 tions, I was only able to study by surreptitious examination, when we met on the roads. In physique, the typical Badaga man is below middle height, smooth-skinned, of slender build, with narrow chest and shoulders.

304 (856) Badaga men have cicatrices on the shoulder and forearm as the result of branding with a fire-stick when they are lads, with the object, it is said, of giving strength, 000 and preventing pain when milking or churning. In like manner, the Todas have raised cicatrices (keloids) on the shoulder produced by branding with a fire-stick. They believe that the branding enables them to milk the buffaloes with perfect ease.

551 The Badagas have a very extensive repertoire of hora hesaru, or nicknames, of which the following are examples:—

One who eats in bed during the night.	Bad-tempered.
Snorer.	Left-handed.
Stupid.	Buffalo grazer.
Bald head.	Saliva dribbling.
Brown-eyed.	Honey-eater.
Thin and bony.	Black Spleen.
Big head.	Teeth.
Bandy-legged.	Potato-eater.
One who returned alive from the burning ground.	Glutton.
Ripe fruit.	Belly.
Big-thighed.	Itch-legged.
Blind.	One who was slow in learning to walk.
Lame.	Tall.
Big calves.	Thief-eyed.
Piles.	Pustule-bodied.
Liar.	Scarred.
Cat-eyed.	Hairy.
Fond of pot-herbs	Weak, like partially baked pots.
Rheumatic.	Strong, like portland cement.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

supply their Badaga partners when they find it is the bezoar, a hairy ball that accumulates in the paunch of some buffaloes. Eating a little of this is believed to make a baby strong, brave and manly; and so all Badagas—whether vegetarian or not, and even though quite cognizant of its polluting origin—feed some of it to their newborn sons.

Some Kotas are adept carpenters. In the days when Badagas were still using ploughs they obtained these from their Kota partners, who had made them from some wood supplied by the Toda partners of the Badagas. Kota men sometimes made the heavy wooden pounding-stick found in all Badaga households: in this case the wood was first obtained from the jungle slopes by the Kurumbas of one particular settlement, who passed it on to the Toda who had asked them for it. This Toda would then give the timber to the Toda partner of the Badaga needing the pounder. He in turn passed it on to the Badaga's Kota partner to whittle into a pounder. This is the most complex traditional network we know of in the Nilgiris.

Kota partners were also employed to help build houses or cattlesheds for their Badaga partners. In this case, too, if the Badaga's Toda partner were a relatively affluent man he would supply timber for the purpose. If the Kota were an affluent man he might give food to his own helpers who carried the timber from the Toda source. Similarly, the Badaga partner might get the timber that was needed for a Kota's house. There was in fact considerable flexibility in these intertribal connexions.

When a Badaga house is being built the Kota partner has to place a piece of iron in the foundations to drive away bad spirits; ghosts and demons abhor iron (as elsewhere across the Old World). A comparable ritual at the completion of a new Badaga cattleshed requires that the owner's Kota partner bring a crowbar and lay it across the threshold over which the first cow[7] to enter must step.

The Badagas very literally hold a house-warming ceremony in a newly built house, when the hearth is first built. The Kota partner of the owner must also attend this, bringing a new pot with him. This is essential, for grain has to be boiled in it during the ritual. Another Kota will also be less directly involved in this ceremony, as the mother's brother of the house owner also has to bring another pot for the same purpose from *his* Kota partner.

Until this century Kota men were usually requested to thatch Badaga houses. This service has, however, been discontinued: in

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

only giving birth to girls." Another states: "If a girl is begotten she is useless; if a boy is begotten he is an asset." Yet another proverb puts it thus: "Girls are a disappointment, but the eldest son is like a hearth." Daughters are accordingly cared for less well than sons during infancy, particularly if the couple already have several daughters. Nonethelesss there is no evidence of the female infanticide that used to be practised by Todas.

> The Badagas will welcome the birth of a son or a daughter with equal gladness. The most probable reason for this is that while Hindus see an increasing burden and expense with the hbirt of a daughter, the Badagas see a future livelihood because the daughter as well as the son helps in the fields. (Rhiem 1900: 503)

Even if they are a blessing, "One who has given birth is seven times as ill-fated as one who is without children:" they can be very troublesome!

If a child is deformed since before the birth, that is God's will and nothing can be done about it; but if any damage was done to the baby during the delivery, that can perhaps be rectified. Immediately after the delivery the midwife checks that all the limbs are in order, and at this time can squeeze the head to make it rounder if it seems very long, or can pinch up the nose if it looks flattened.

If a child is born deformed but living, it is believed that either its parents or its patrilineal ancestors committed some great sin; whereas if the deformed child is born dead no such sin was involved. Many Badagas are born with eleven fingers or toes; but this minor matter is considered to be neither lucky nor inauspicious. Badly deformed children of either sex are still encouraged to live and are not done away with; this is even more true of twins, who bring more respect to the parents than a single birth would. However, children blind or deformed from birth are extremely rare, and giants are unknown among the Badagas; dwarfs occasionally are found. One man, about a metre high, was briefly married and divorced, was a highly respected man who took an active part in the village council, and died in his sixties. He was nicknamed "Groundling" but was respected because his conduct was excellent and he came from a good family. He had several brothers of normal stature but was respected more than they were.

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

parents train them, children begin blowing their own noses in this way. 854

5.10. During the first few weeks of life the baby's cranium is elongated by manipulation. Mothers used to be proud of this shape, but the practice is now a rare one. Beginning on the eighth day after birth, the manipulation is done every morning and night, and the limbs are also massaged. A woman warms her hands in front of the fire, covers them with clarified butter, and then presses them lightly on the infant's chest. Next the arms, thighs, legs, feet, knees and elbows are pressed strongly. The nose is pressed together from both sides, so that it becomes higher and less wide. Finally the cranium is squeezed between both hands (Jagor 1876: 196). Not knowing about this custom, a few anthropologists have commented on the anomalous dolichocephaly of the Badagas, so much in contrast with the mesaticephalic and brachycephalic crania of their ancestral homeland in Mysore (Thurston 1909: 67). 856

5.11. Badagas say that until the ninth day of life a baby cannot see or understand anything, although it has vision. This state may last even till the fortieth day, but usually it is after the ninth day that a baby is credited with hearing, sight and understanding. Between the fortieth and sixtieth days its understanding develops, and it recognizes its parents.

From its fortieth day the women begin to make the child laugh. It is felt they must make it laugh between then and its sixtieth day, and also make it cry by taking something away from it, otherwise the child will be considered dumb. If it will neither laugh nor cry, old people will peer into its mouth and if they can see a defect of the uvula then they know the child is dumb. There is no medicine to rectify this. If the child talks the uvula will grow; if he is silent, it will not. Till the fifth or sixth month no one should make a loud noise near the child, lest it become deaf. A child may be born dumb but it cannot be born deaf. 856 826 828

5.12. After the third month of a baby's life the mother will resume her normal fieldwork duties it she is poor; but if well-to-do she will wait until after its sixth month. The insecurity that an infant might feel as a result of now losing its mother's attention for many hours of each day is minimized by the care lavished on it by other female relatives, including its older sisters. Most commonly for the next few years the child's grandmother looks after it all day. (I 854 [603]

Early Childhood

5.15. At about the fifth month of life the child, surrounded by blankets or other protective matter, is made to sit up. In the sixth or seventh month he will start to crawl, and once he does this he will be allowed to sleep on the floor, but not on a cot or shelf from which he might fall. The relatives encourage a child to crawl, then to stand and walk, by placing little articles as bribes in front of it. A Badaga proverb says, "See the power of the baby's legs when it crawls; see the state of the young plant." This means that the child's future life is reflected in the way it crawls; and similarly, "Judge the little children by watching the good movement of their legs while dancing." If instead of crawling a baby stretches its legs forward while sitting, and then inches its bottom forward, it is said to be a lazy child. Conversely the one who crawls on hands and knees will be walking very soon.

5.16. Children begin talking at 12 to 18 months. The parents at first use a few onomatopoeic words with them, as well as special words for children like the "baby talk" of English. Thus there are words for commonplace matters like sleep, bathe, etc., and a meal (*hittu*) for example is called *ku* for babies; *ku* is in fact ceremonial food mixed with milk.

5.17. It is the prime duty of old people in the home to educate and care for their grandchildren and great-grandchildren, particularly because the parents are often working outside somewhere. If younger people spend too much of their working hours playing with the baby someone will make the snide remark that "The thief of work has the child as a pretext." Even though children now attend school it is still the elders who teach them to talk, and then explain to them much about Badaga life. To do this they tell the children both traditional tales and stories they make up for moral instruction. In this context children often hear the Badaga proverbs, which encapsulate so much of the customary morality. Many of the folktales the children are told and then made to repeat are animal stories with some clear ethical content. Now that children go to school it is most usually after supper when they urge the elders to tell them stories. Children over five are not interested in the animal fables, and so they are told somewhat more realistic stories about Kurumba sorcerers, or about tigers and jackals that take children away at night. Such stories are told to make the children afraid of these

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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improve the hair, two other procedures can be followed. Either the hair is washed, using the bark of *toreko:lu* for soap; or else some tiny buds of common bracken are ground up till they form an oily paste. This is used as a shampoo for some days when washing the baby's head.

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A disease that occurs among youngsters causes patchy baldness, as clumps of hair fall out. It is said that "insects" are eating at it and so they must be killed. A piece of hard, hairy bezoar stone, called "hair-diamond," is bought in a bazaar. It is dipped in milk and then rubbed onto the bald patch repeatedly until it bleeds. Then "the insects inside die," I was told.

ORTHODONTICS 856

5.27. "It is bad if a tooth sticks out; it is bad if a river passes beyond the river bank." Thus if a child's tooth is not growing in the right direction an older woman of the household soon tries to bend it into position. She works at this every morning after the child wakes up, and before he eats, for one or two weeks. There are two procedures: either the child sits by the fire and the tooth is held in a cloth that has been heated over the fire; or else the cloth is dipped in very cold water before use. *Ma:dua*, a mouth disease common among children, is described later (6.39).

(164)

TONSILITIS (*tonde kaṭalu*) 752 826

5.28. In earlier days some therapists grew the nails of the left thumb and index finger for use in tonsilectomy. Tonsils were taken out after they ached or swelled so much that the child could not eat. Someone pressed the back of the tongue down with a cooking skillet, so that the child could not close his mouth, while others held his head and arms to keep him still. The therapist put her thumb and index finger down the throat and pinched the tonsils off with her long sharpened nails. (They could be thrown away anywhere.) A pancake made of fresh finger millet was then prepared and kept aside until it was cool and dry. Then it was cut into small pieces and these were

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4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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dried further. Finally the patient swallowed the pieces without chewing them first, so that their sharp edges would cut off any parts of the tonsil that remained. The pieces were swallowed before each of the next two meals following the operation. After this the patient just took the ordinary meals, but was advised to wash his mouth out with salty water for one or two days.

757 (825) **COUGH** (*kemmalu*)

5.29. The blood of a hare (*Lepus nigricollis*) used to be given as a throat medicine to children suffering from a cough (Thurston 1912: 85). Today the stem of a peacock feather is used instead to cure a cough or cold in young children. It is rubbed on a stone to produce a minute amount of powder, which is then mixed with powdered rhizome of the sweet flag and a little honey, and swallowed by the child. For babies, however, nothing but a half teaspoonful of honey is given, and for children between one and four years this is increased to a full teaspoonful. Only the honey from sealed cells of honeycomb is used as a cough medicine, although Badagas do use the honey from unsealed cells as a foodstuff.

755 **SINGULTUS** (*selamudalu*)

5.30. Someone should blow in an infant's ear to cure its hiccups. If this is not successful, then one blows on the top of its head.

757 825 **PERTUSSIS** (*kokkare*)

5.31. The flesh of the Nilgiri langur (*Presbytis johnii*) used to be sold in local bazaars as a cure for whooping-cough (Thurston 1906: 271); I have heard that it is still available, although illegally so since the animal became a protected species.

● 854 755 732 (826) (854) **RICKETS** (*sotte*)

5.32. If a baby is born with its limbs bent nothing can be done about it, although massage will be attempted in infancy, as we mentioned above (5.10). If it is thought there is no strength in the waist "because of the nerves in the hip," a treatment can be tried. Instead of bathing the baby in regular hot water, some water in which rice or preferably little millet, has been cleaned is kept, and each evening for a week or two this is heated for the daily

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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bath. When near body temperature the water is splashed onto the hips and waist by hand, and this area becomes stronger. The baby is not immersed in the water.

5.33. If the legs are weak they will bend when the child begins to walk, and so they must first be strengthened. To do this a long leaf of aloe is needed: all the spikes are cut off it, then it is heated over the fire and twisted tightly to squeeze out the juice. *Hulla majjige* (the name of several species of sorrel) is also ground up and its juice collected. Some salt and a small amount of wood ash from the hearth are mixed in with these juices, and the resultant liquid boiled until all that remains is a glassful of very thick paste. This is smeared all over the baby's legs up to the waist. It is left on, and more of the same concoction is added every morning and evening for the next three days, without any of it being cleaned away. On the third or fourth day the dry paste is cleaned off, and the baby rests for two or three days. Then the whole process is repeated. Four of five such series of treatments are given over a month, and afterwards the child should be able to walk alright. If it still cannot walk properly, however, this means that the bone has been bent since birth and no remedy is possible.

CONSTIPATION (*se:dalu*) 757

5.34. When a small child is constipated someone takes the rib of a tobacco leaf, rolls it between her hands a bit to remove any sharpnesses, and dips it in castor oil (or formerly gingelly oil). Several people hold the child still while the woman gently pushes the rib into the rectum, after which the child eases himself.

ENURESIS (*maggilucce*) 757 755

5.35. Some young children pass small amounts of urine every few minutes and wet the bed at night. If it is a mere infant three fingers wetted with castor or gingelly oil are put in its mouth to suck. A somewhat older child is given a half teaspoonful of the oil to drink.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

not dry himself, but instead sits covered with a cotton cloth under which some incense is burnt to create a thick smoke. After this a cure can be expected. During the entire course of the illness the patient must eat only the "cooling" foods such as milk and fruits, and must abstain from things like chili. Also he should use no woollen material for clothing or bedding.

Mouth, Nose and Throat

6.38. Teeth are not filed in any way nor are cavities filled. If a tooth is loose, it is pulled out with the fingers, or else an attempt is made to cure it by rubbing it with ginger. There is a proverb which warns, "The son who is spurning his father is no good; the tooth that is protruding from the lips is no good." As we have seen (5.27), a woman will try to bend a child's misshapen tooth into position with a cloth.

DENTISTRY

6.39. The major mouth disease is quickly detected because a very strong odour is noticeable even from some feet away. Although mainly a children's disease, it can affect adults. Badagas believe that "germs" eat the teeth: the disease can rot them, and a sufferer cannot put anything in his mouth because it is so painful. The mouth therefore has to be made insensitive so that he can eat. A local anaesthetic is therefore made from galls found on oak, obtained from a tree in the plains: they are over 2 cms in diameter and are ground up with woman's milk or cow's milk to form a paste, which is then rubbed all over the mouth cavity.

PYORRHOEA (*ma:dua*)

The medicine for *ma:dua* is made from two fruits that can now be bought in shops. One is the unripe *aṇila kae* and the other nutmeg; they are ground together in equal amounts and mixed with woman's milk or cow's milk or else water. This solution is taken early in the morning, before breakfast, and again before the evening meal. If